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NEW-MEXICAN SPANISH FOLK-LORE

BY AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

THE author of the present article has for several years been gathering material for the dialectology and folk-lore of New Mexico. An attempt is being made to carry on this work in a systematic and scientific manner, so that some of the material must remain unpublished for a long time. The comparative method of studying folk-lore, which is at the same time historical, seems to be the only method by which to obtain good results. To pursue this method to advantage in all branches of the study is a long, laborious task. In the present article, which is Part XX of my New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore material, I have been compelled to publish bare facts, with little comparative method. This has been due to various reasons, which I need not mention here. I may say, however, that I am at present especially interested in the literary and purely linguistic side of Spanish folk-lore, and that I have had no time to make a special study of the subject-matter of this article. The material contained in these pages, however, is all original, and I hope it may be useful to students of general comparative folk-lore.

Folk-lore studies in Spanish North America have been entirely neglected. With the single exception of a short article by John G. Bourke, published in this Journal in 1896, I do not know of any American publication on Spanish-American folk-lore.² The field is very rich, and will repay the labors of any one. The abundant material which has already been found in New Mexico and Colorado would seem to furnish ample proof that vast treasures of folk-lore are to be found in Texas, California, and Arizona, not to speak of Mexican folk-lore studies, which, to my knowledge, no one has ever touched upon.³

¹ See the author's work, "The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado" (Bulletin of the New Mexico Historical Society, No. 16), chapter iv.

² "Notes on the Language and Folk-Usage of the Rio Grande Valley," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. ix, pp. 81-116. In the works of C. F. Lummis (A New Mexico David [New York, 1891] and The Land of Poco Tiempo [Ibid., 1893]), some interesting New Mexican folk-lore material is found.

In South America more has been done, especially in Chili, where, under the able VOL. XXIII. — NO. 90.
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I. MYTHS

1. WITCHES (LOS BRUJOS)

Los brujos ó brujas are mischievous individuals who practise evil on their neighbors, often for little or no cause. Generally, however, it is on their enemies that witches practise the evil doings which they are able to perform. No one is born a witch. Witchcraft is a science, a kind of learning which may be learned from other witches. Any one who is a witch can give his or her powers to another one; though an individual, by practising evil, may, on agreement with the Devil, become a witch. New Mexicans speak of a witch as being in agreement with the Devil (pactado con el diablo or pautau con el diablo).

Belief in witchcraft of one sort or another is found practically among all primitive peoples, and has survived in all countries until comparatively recent times.2 In New Mexico this belief is still widespread. People, young and old, have a terrible superstitious fear of witches and their evil doings. Numerous stories cling around their beliefs, and these are often confused and sometimes even contradictory. The means of doing harm which the witches have at their disposal are various, but in practically all their methods they bring into play their power of being transformed into any animal whatsoever. A lady once visited with a lady friend whom she did not know to be a witch. Both retired in the evening and went to sleep in the same bed. About midnight (the hour when witches go forth from their homes to practise mischief and take revenge on their enemies) the visitor saw her friend get up from the bed and light a candle. Presently she produced a large dish, placed it on a table, pulled out both of her eyes, and, putting them in the dish, flew out through the chimney, riding on a broomstick. The visitor could no longer stay in the house of the witch, but dressed in haste and ran to her home.

The owl, called in New Mexico tecolote (<Nahuatl tecolótl), is very much feared, and is supposed to be the animal whose form the witches prefer to take. The hoot of the owl is an evil omen; and the continuous presence of an owl at nightfall near any house is a sure sign

leadership of Professor Rudolph Lenz of the University of Santiago de Chile, a Chili Folk-Lore Society has begun the study of Chilian folk-lore on a large scale. The society publishes a *Revista de Folklore Chileno*, and three excellent numbers have already appeared. The author of the present article has recently organized a Spanish Folk-Lore Society among the advanced students of Stanford University.

¹ Near Peña Blanca, in central New Mexico, there is said to be a school of witches. The apprentice first enters their cave, where the Devil and old witches preside. At first the beginner is taught to transform herself into a dove, then into an owl, and finally into a dog.

² See Gomme, Folklore as an Historical Science (London, 1908), pp. 194, 201-206.

that witches are approaching with evil intentions, or that some evil is about to visit the house.

In a certain village in northern New Mexico, which was considered a favorite rendezvous for witches, a certain house had been surrounded for various nights by owls and foxes (the fox is another animal whose form witches like to take). Fearing harm from witches, since the hooting of the owls and the howling of the foxes had become almost insufferable, men went out to meet them with bows and arrows. The owls and foxes disappeared in all directions, with the exception of one old fox, which had been wounded near the heart by an arrow. No one dared to approach the wounded fox, however; and the next morning it was discovered that an old lady, a witch, living near by, was in her death-bed, with an arrow-wound near the heart.

I have never heard of the soul of the person leaving the body and entering into the animal in question, the body remaining lifeless until the retransformation takes place, as is the belief in Chili.¹ In New Mexico the general belief is, that complete transformation of body and soul takes place at will; and in case of no transformation, the witch usually leaves the eyes behind.

On another occasion a man was riding on a fast horse and saw a fox. He started in pursuit; and after a long chase, when the fox was very tired and was already dragging its tongue along the ground, a sudden transformation took place. At a sharp turn of the road the fox stopped, and the rider did the same. To his amazement, he at once perceived a gray-haired woman sitting on a stone and panting in a terrible manner. Recognizing in her an old woman who was his neighbor, and whom he had suspected of being a witch, he went his way and troubled her no more.

A witch may have a person under the influence of some evil, illness, or even vice, at will. The unfortunate individual who is beset by witches is also pursued and molested by devils and other evil spirits who help the witches. The general name for any evil or harm caused by a witch is, in New Mexico, maleficio ("spell, enchantment, harm"), and the verb is maleficiar ("to do harm, to bewitch"). Estar maleficiau ("to be under the spell or influence of a witch") is the greatest of evils, and hard to overcome. A witch, however, may be compelled by physical torture to raise the spell or cease doing harm; but this method is not advisable, since sooner or later the witch will again take revenge. In some instances, it is said, innocent old women have been cruelly tortured in attempting to force them to cure imaginary or other wrongs of which they were accused. On one

¹ See *Mitos y Supersticiones*, by J. Vicuña Cifuentes (Santiago de Chile, 1910), pp. 44-45.

occasion a witch was roped and dragged until she restored health to one she had *maleficiau*. One of the more common evils which witches cause is madness or insanity; and the person may be restored, as a rule, by causing the witch to endure great physical pain. All kinds of physical ills are said to be caused by witches. A certain woman suffered great pain in the stomach, and it was feared that she was *maleficiada*. Some living creature was felt to move about within her stomach; and her relatives became alarmed, and attributed the trouble to an old woman who was suspected of being a witch. She was purposely called in to visit the sick one as a *curandera* ("popular doctor"); and, fearing violence, she approached the *maleficiada* and instantly caused a large owl—the cause of her illness—to come out of her stomach.

The ideas and beliefs of the New Mexican lower classes about witchcraft are not always clear. Conflicting stories are frequently told; and when questioned in detail about this or that particular belief, their answers are confused and uncertain. The brujas (generally women) are women who are wicked (pautadas con el diablo) and non-Christian. By confessing their sins to a priest, repenting, and abandoning their devilish ways, they may become good Christian women. A certain witch desired to forsake her evil ways and save her soul, since those who die witches cannot expect salvation. She confessed to a priest, and gave him a large bundle in the shape of a ball, which consisted largely of old rags, and pins stuck into it, — the source and cause of her evil powers. The priest took the diabolical bundle and threw it into a fire, where, after bounding and rebounding for several minutes in an infernal manner, it was consumed, and the compact with the Devil ceased (ya no estaba pautada con el diablo).

It is not always easy to determine who is, and who is not, a witch. In case any woman is suspected of being a witch, there are ways of ascertaining the truth. If the witch is visiting in any house, a broom with a small cross (made from straws of the same broom) stuck to it is placed at the door. If the woman is a witch, she will never leave the room until the broom and cross are removed. Another way, which is very similar to this one, is to place the broom behind the door, with a cross made from two needles. It is a significant fact that the broom and cross play an important part in witchcraft in New Mexico. A comparative study of this problem may reveal some very interesting facts. The broom plays an important rôle in the witchcraft of all countries. So far as the cross is concerned, it is in every respect a most important element in the folk-lore of New Mexico. A third way of determining if a woman is a witch or not is to spy her while sleeping, for all witches sleep with their eyes open. Of a vigilant and careful person, it is said, "Es como los brujos duerme con los ojos abiertos."

Furthermore, any man or boy named John or John the Baptist may catch a witch by putting on his clothes wrongside out, or by making with his foot a circle around the witch. Other strange beliefs similar to these are current in various localities, and nearly all start with the idea that the one who can catch a witch is one named John or John the Baptist (Juan Bautista). There are some charms used against witches. The cores of red peppers burned on Fridays will keep away the witches and their evil doings. Another preventive is to urinate in the direction of their homes.

To some persons, to relatives and particular friends, the witches do no harm, though they are absolutely incapable of doing any good. From such people, witches do not conceal the fact that they are witches, though as a rule great secrecy prevails. To these confidential friends they often tell their evil intentions or threats of vengeance. A certain woman in New Mexico who was suspected of being a witch always carried with her, concealed under her clothes, a bundle of rags with pins, and a small toad wrapped up in rags, which she would often show to her friends, caressing it with her hand.

New Mexicans also believe that a witch may take the form of a black dog. A black dog, however, may represent the Devil or some other evil spirit. A certain woman in Santa Fé was often beaten in her bed by a black dog that no one but herself could see. This was supposed to be a witch; and her neighbors say that it was a witch, the wife of a man with whom the woman who was beaten had had illicit relations.¹

2. DWARFS

Dwarfs (los duendes) are individuals of small stature, who frighten the lazy, the wicked, and in particular the filthy. The New Mexican idea about dwarfs is embraced in the above statement. The people express much uncertainty about the origin, whereabouts, and doings of dwarfs. A young lady from Santa Fé, however, seemed to have some definite ideas about their life. She pictured them as living together in a certain lonely place, where they inhabited underground houses, went out secretly to steal provisions and clothing, especially at night, and often even went to the cities to buy provisions. In the caves they prospered and lived with their families. Most of the people, however, profess ignorance about dwarfs. They have only the general idea of their being evil spirits that terrorize the wicked, lazy, or filthy, as I have already stated.² The following story is one

¹ In some parts of France it is believed that witches may transform themselves into white dogs, and not black (see L. Lainéau, *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, vol. xiv, p. 270). In Lorraine, witches usually take the form of wolves or hares (Paul Sebillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, vol. iii [1906], p. 57).

² In Chili the origin of the dwarfs constitutes a definite popular idea. Ct. V. Cifuentes, op. cit., pp. 37–38: "Cuando Luzbel fué arrojado del cielo, le siguieron innumerables

well known: A family once moved from one place to another, and, on arriving at the new house, the mother was looking for the broom to sweep. Her daughter, a lazy and careless girl, had forgotten it in the old home. Presently a dwarf appeared, descending slowly from the roof with the broom in his hand, and, presenting it to the lady, he said, "Here it is!" A confused idea also exists in some localities with respect to the dwarf as a wandering soul. I have not been able to obtain any definite information on this point, but the idea of a dwarf being a suffering soul from purgatory is found in modern Spanish literature. To daughters who are lazy and dirty about the house, mothers say, "No seas puerca y se te vayan á (a) parecer los duendes."

In Chretien de Troyes, the dwarf (nains) appears frequently, but often as a very small person, an actual human being. He is always vile and treacherous (cf. the dwarf who appears in Erec and Enide). In Celtic myths, however, the dwarf is a spirit who inhabits the underground caves and forges marvellous weapons. He is an ugly creature, with claws like those of a cat, and a wrinkled face (Larousse). In Scandinavian mythology, the dwarfs (Dvergen) are inhabitants of the interior of the earth, and they also were said to forge marvellous weapons. The Spanish word duende, <domtus (Körting, 3088), is also suggestive of Hausgespenst.

3. THE EVIL ONE

The myth about the evil one, la malora (<mala hora), also pronounced malogra (literally, "the evil hour"), is indeed interesting, both from the purely folk-lore side as well as from the philological side. How mala hora, the evil hour, ill fate, bad luck, came to be thought of as a definite concrete idea of an individual wicked spirit, is interesting from more than one point of view. This myth is a well-known one. La malora is an evil spirit which wanders about in the darkness of the night at the cross-roads and other places. It terrorizes the unfortunate ones who wander alone at night, and has usually the form of a large lock of wool or the whole fleece of wool of a sheep (un vellón de lana). Sometimes it takes a human form, but this is rare; and the New Mexicans say that when it has been seen in human form, it presages ill fate, death, or the like. When it appears on dark nights in the shape of a fleece of wool, it diminishes and in-

ángeles, y temiendo Dios que se fueran todos, dijo '¡Basta!' y el cielo y el infierno se cerraron. Multitud de ángeles quedaron en el aire, sin poder volver al cielo ni penetrar en el infierno, y éstos son los duendes."

"A la puerta está Un hombre del otro siglo Un duende del Purgatorio."

¹ Cf. El Duque de Rivas, Tanto vales cuanto tienes, Act I, Scene XIII.

creases in size in the very presence of the unfortunate one who sees it. It is also generally believed that a person who sees la malora, like one who sees a ghost (un difunto), forever remains senseless. When asked for detailed information about this myth, the New Mexicans give the general reply, "It is an evil thing" (es cosa mala).

4. THE WEEPING WOMAN

The myth of The Weeping Woman (La Llorona) is peculiar to Santa Fé. A strange woman dressed in black, dragging heavy chains and weeping bitterly, is often seen after midnight walking about the dark streets or standing at the windows and doors of private houses.¹ Vague ideas are expressed about her, but many state that she is a soul from purgatory, desiring to communicate with some one, or obliged to atone for her sins by dragging chains and weeping. That any soul from purgatory or heaven can come down to earth to communicate with relatives and friends, is a widespread belief in New Mexico; and it is not strange that any apparition, real or imaginary, is looked upon as a wandering soul. When The Weeping Woman is heard weeping at the door, no one leaves the house; and finally she departs, continuing her sad lamentations and dragging heavy chains. There are also some who state that the *llorona* is an infernal spirit wandering through the world, and entering the houses of those who are to be visited by great misfortunes, especially death in the family; and a few say that she is nothing more than an old witch (una vieia bruia).

5. THE BUGABOO OR BUGBEAR

There is no definite idea in the minds of the people of New Mexico about the bugaboo or bugbear (el coco). It is considered as a wild, ugly-looking man or animal that frightens bad boys. The children are frightened at the very name of el coco, and all fear it. Such expressions as te come el coco; ahí viene el coco; si no callas, llamo al coco pa que te coma; etc., — are very common.² By extension of meaning, any terrible-looking person who frightens others is called el coco, and hence the expression meterle el coco á una persona ("to scare a person").

El coco is also often called el agüelo (<abuelo), a myth which must not be confused with, though it is apparently the source of, the custom which exists in New Mexico about another agüelo. During Christmas week an old man called el agüelo visits houses and makes the children

¹ Only in the black mantle does the *llorona* resemble the *calchona* of Chilian folk-lore (see J. V. Cifuentes, op. cit., p. 9).

² In the sense of "bugaboo to scare children," the word is in general use in Spanish literature. Körting gives the etymology as cŏco, which, if popularly developed, should be cuego. For the meaning "bugaboo," derived from the ugly appearance of the coco, see Cornu, Romania, xi, 119. All this is, in my opinion, very doubtful.

play and pray. Those who cannot say their prayers he whips and advises them to learn them quickly. The origin of the name agüelo in this interesting custom is undoubtedly taken from el coco, "bugaboo."

The children, of course, who are frightened at all times of the year with the mythical *coco* or *agüelo*, do not differentiate between the mythical one and the real *agüelo* of Christmas time, who makes them dance, say their prayers, and give him cakes and sweets.¹

6. THE DEVIL

In New Mexican Spanish the Devil is known by various names, el mashishi,2 el diablo, el malo. There is little difference in the meaning of these names. All three are epithets of the Devil. The Devil does not play such an important part in popular superstition anywhere. He is rather a literary personage, one more frequently encountered in genuine literature than in popular tradition. The witches and all other evil spirits are in agreement with the Devil, — pautaus (<pactados) con el diablo, — but other than this general belief and the frequency of the word diablo in oaths and exclamations, the Devil is not an important factor in New Mexican Spanish folk-lore, and he is not even feared.³ The simple sign of the cross will scare away any devil or other evil spirit which may dare to appear, so the New Mexicans do not worry about the Devil. He once caused humanity to fall, but now his power has become much weakened: no le vale con San Miguel ("he has been conquered by St. Michael"). Another very common epithet for the Devil, in addition to the three already given, is aquel gallo ("that old rooster"); and in a certain riddle he is called pata galán ("pretty legs").4

¹ The agüelo rushes into a house dressed as a hermit, and asks for the children. After making then pray, he makes them form a circle, and, taking each other's hands, they dance around the room with him, singing,

"Baila paloma de Juan turuntún (or durundún), ¡ Turun tún tún Turun tun tún!"

- ² As I have said on another occasion, the New Mexican word mashishi (pronounced masheeshee) may be connected with the Chilian machi (a popular doctor or soothsayer of the Indians of Chili; also a witch). See Lenz, Los Elementos indios del Castellano de Chile, etc. (Santiago, 1904–10), p. 460.
- ³ An interesting study, "The Devil as a Dramatic Figure in the Spanish Religious Drama before Lope de Vega," by J. P. W. Crawford, is just appearing in the *Romanic Review*. It is to be hoped that the author will continue this study, through the classic dramatists, where the figure of the Devil is also common.
 - 4 The riddle is a dialogue in this manner:
 - r. ¿Á quién quieres más, Á Dín 5 (á) Adán, Ö á pata galán?
 - 2. Á pata galán.
 - 1. ¡ Qué bárbaro! Ése es el diablo.

7. THE MONSTER VIPER

This is a Spanish-Indian myth. The belief is that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico have in each pueblo a monster viper (el viborón) in a large subterranean cave, which is nourished with seven living children every year. I know absolutely nothing about the origin of this myth, and have had no time to study it; but I am inclined to believe that this is a pure Indian myth, probably of Aztec origin. The interesting thing about it is, that the Indians themselves have very vague ideas concerning it, some even denying it. The belief among the New Mexicans of this Indian myth is widespread, and the gradual disappearance of the New Mexico Pueblo Indians is explained by the myth in question. In the pueblo of Taos it is said that an Indian woman, when her turn came to deliver her child to the monster viper, fled to her Mexican neighbors, and thus saved her child.

8. THE BASILISK

The well-known myth of the basilisk (el basilisco) — a myth which is found in nearly all countries — is widely extended in New Mexico. It does not differ entirely from that of Spain or Chili, but there is one element which distinguishes it from the basilisk myths of other countries. In all countries where the myth appears, it is believed that the basilisk is born from an egg laid by a cock. According to the New Mexican belief, the basilisk is said to be born from an old hen. There is no egg connected with the myth at all. After a hen is seven years old, she no longer lays eggs, and she may give birth to a basilisk. A hen which is known to be more than seven years of age should be killed, lest she give birth to a basilisk. Not only in this respect is the New Mexican myth different from that of Spain and Chili; the basilisk in New Mexico is not like a snake; it is not a serpent or reptile; it has a shapeless, ugly form, resembling a deformed chick, and is of black color. So it is described by a New Mexican, who, after going to a chicken-house, whither he was attracted by the cackling of a hen, found a basilisk, fortunately dead.

Any female bird or fowl may give birth to a basilisk. Everywhere in New Mexico the myth is the same. As to the deadly effect of the eye of the basilisk, the New Mexico myth is the same as in other countries. If the basilisk sees a person first, the person dies; if the person sees the basilisk first, the basilisk dies. The story is told that in a certain place there was a basilisk in a magpie's nest on top of a tree, and the people who passed by were seen by it and died. Finally it was suspected that there was a basilisk up in the tree, and, a mirror

¹ This myth may have something to do with some old sacrificial rites of the Pueblo Indians.

being placed near the nest, the basilisk saw itself there and died. The belief that the basilisk dies when beholding its own image is also a prevalent one in all countries where the myth is found. Even the mirror story, with slight variations, is one that is found in Chili, France, and Spain.¹

In France the basilisk is also found in wells, and may be killed by placing a mirror over the well and allowing the basilisk to see its own image.

The myth of the basilisk is an old one. In Spanish literature, references to the deadly eye of the basilisk are quite common,² and the same is true in French literature.³

It is indeed strange that the New Mexican myth, while in many respects the same as the Spanish and general European myth, should present such a striking difference in respect to the manner of the birth of the basilisk. In Chili the myth is in all respects the European myth.⁴

II. SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

I. GHOSTS

The New Mexicans, in spite of their gaiety and lack of seriousness in most of the problems confronting them, look upon death as a very serious matter. Not only does the individual dread death and the consequences which may follow it, but the family dreads to face the death of one of its members. There are all kinds of superstitions in regard to the meaning of death and its consequences. Unfortunate is the family which is once visited by death, for other deaths will soon follow. In the midst of all this fear of death, and certainty that some day it is to come, as may be seen from the popular proverb "de la muerte y de la suerte nadie se escape," there are not lacking

"Ya venía á toda prisa El cara de basilisco, Y al pasar por San Francisco, Oyendo tocar á misa." . . .

"Basiliques les puis bien appeller, Qui de son vir tue l'omme en present."

See Sebillot, op. cit., iii, 268-269. Cf. also the sixteenth century proverb, -

"Le basilic tue, Seulement avec sa vue." — *Ibid*.

¹ See J. V. Cifuentes, op. cit., p. 54; Paul Sebillot, op. cit., ii, 309-310; A. Guichot y Sierra, Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares, vol. III, pp. 10-20.

² Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares, op. cit., pp. 55-62. Reference is also commonly made to the ugly figure of the basilisk (cf. El Duque de Rivas, Tanto vales cuanto tienes, i, 11):—

³ Eustache Deschamps (fourteenth century), in comparing women to basilisks, says, —

⁴ J. V. Cifuentes, op. cit., p. 55.

those who make sport of the idea, as is evident from the following popular copla: 1

"Por aquí pasó la muerte Con un manojo de velas, Preguntando á los enfermos, ¿Cómo les va de virgüelas?"

The lover, however, at least theoretically, does not fear death. On all occasions death is preferable to losing a lover. This may be seen from the following coplas:

"Si quieres que yo te olvide, Pídele á Dios que me muera, Porque vivo es imposible Olvidar á quien yo quiera."

"Dicen que me han de matar Por un amor verdadero. Por mi pecho han de cruzar Cuatro puñales de acero; En agonía he de estar Y he de decir que te quiero."

"De que **s**e llega la noche Se me llega á mi la muerte, Tan sólo en considerar Que me he de acostar sin verte."

"Por la luna doy un peso, Por el lucero un tostón; Por los ojos d'esta joven La vida y el corazón."

It is in connection with the bodies of the dead, however, that there is no end of New Mexican superstitions. There is an instinctive horror, so to speak, towards the dead. People are afraid to go out alone in the dark, young and old, through fear of ghosts (los difuntos or dijuntos, also the word for "dead people," "the body of a dead person"). When a person dies, every one fears his return. The little children who knew him, and were at some time disrespectful to him in life, are afraid that he will pull them by the toes at night; and the grown-up people have greater fears. People conjecture as to whether his soul has gone to heaven, hell, or purgatory; and long arguments and explanations follow, usually by the most ignorant. A child under

¹ The copla, more commonly called verso, is a short octosyllabic verse, usually of four or six lines, sometimes more, with alternate assonances. These are sung at home or social gatherings or at dances, with guitar accompaniment. The author has gathered 1000 of these in New Mexico.

seven does not sin, and, if baptized, goes to heaven; but if it has already nursed, it must pass by the flames of purgatory to atone for having nursed. If older than seven, the dead person commits sin, is responsible for it, and God will judge him. When a person goes to heaven (cuando está glorioso), he usually appears to one of his relatives, in a dream or otherwise, and gives him the information, so that no prayers need to be offered to him. If he is in hell, he may likewise be given by God the permission to come to the world to inform his relatives not to pray for him, for he is damned. Those who go to purgatory are also allowed to come to earth on various errands, the same as those who go to heaven. They may come to tell their relatives to pray for them, to pay certain debts which they failed to pay, to reveal certain truths which they had kept secret, to tell their relatives to fulfil certain vows, such as series of prayers and almsgiving. The information is usually through certain signs, which are easily understood. But besides these apparitions, which the New Mexicans say have a purpose, there are a series of superstitions which have no explanation whatever. The dead simply frighten people, especially relatives and friends, with no reason and with no purpose. popular imagination classifies ghosts (los dijuntos) as wandering spirits, both good and evil, which are to be feared and avoided. A distant friend or relative receives warning of the death of some one by a rap on the bed, the falling of a chair, a sudden noise of any kind, the presence of a small bird (preferably a white bird), a small flame rising in the air, a distant light, a passing shadow, or, finally, the real presence of the ghost of the person, usually dressed in black, standing or walking along. It is also believed that the souls from purgatory may themselves come to pray, and thus say the prayers they promised in life. In a certain house in Santa Fé, N. Mex., it is said that several souls from purgatory assemble every Good Friday to pray the rosary. Their prayers are distinctly heard, they ring a little bell, and then disappear.

Of New Mexican ghost-stories there is no end. Every New Mexican lady over forty years of age can tell them by the dozen, and, what is more, she firmly believes every word she says. In El Rito, an old Spanish settlement in northern New Mexico, there is a house which has been abandoned for over a hundred years through fear of ghosts. At about midnight every night, ghosts are said to come into the rooms, and, though not seen, they are heard moaning and walking about, dragging chains, and hitting the walls with them in a terrible manner. Nearly every abandoned adobé house is said to be haunted by ghosts, and at one time or another some one has seen a ghost there. The majority of the New Mexicans, men and women, would not enter such a house alone at night for any consideration

whatsoever. It is feared as much as a graveyard. Some New Mexicans are afraid to enter a graveyard alone, even in the day-time, not to speak of the night. One of the most interesting ghost-stories that I have ever heard in New Mexico is the following, which I give in detail.

A certain evening during holy week the Penitentes¹ entered the church in Taos for the purpose of flogging themselves. After flogging themselves in the usual manner, they left the church. As they departed, however, they heard the floggings of a Penitente who seemed to have remained in the church. The elder brother (hermano mayor) counted his Penitentes, and no one was missing. To the astonishment of the other Penitentes, the one in the church continued his flagellation, and they decided to return. No one dared to reënter the church, however; and while they disputed in silence and made various conjectures as to what the presence of an unknown Penitente might mean, the floggings became harder and harder. At last one of the Penitentes volunteered to enter alone; but, as he opened the door, he discovered that the one who was scourging himself mercilessly was high above in the choir, and it was necessary to obtain a lighted candle before venturing to ascend to the choir in the darkness. He procured a lighted candle and attempted to ascend. But, lo! he could not, for every time he reached the top of the stairs, the Penitente whom he plainly saw there, flogging himself, would approach and put out his candle. After trying for several times, the brave Penitente gave up the attempt, and all decided to leave the unknown and mysterious stranger alone in the church. As they departed, they saw the mysterious Penitente leave the church and turn in an opposite direction. They again consulted one another, and decided to follow him. They did so; and, since the stranger walked slowly, scourging himself continuously and brutally, they were soon at a short distance from him. The majority of the flagellants followed sl wly behind; while the brave one, who had previously attempted to ascend to the choir, advanced to the side of the mysterious stranger and walked slowly by him. He did not cease scourging himself, though his body was visibly becoming very weak, and blood was flowing freely from his mutilated back. Thus the whole procession continued in the silence of the night, the stranger leading the Penitentes through abrupt paths and up a steep and high mountain. At last, when all were nearly dead with fatigue, the mysterious Penitente suddenly disappeared, leaving his good companion and the other Penitentes in the

¹ A society of flagellants who scourge themselves to atone for their sins. I have just prepared for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* an article on the subject. For the details of the above ghost-story of the Penitentes, I am indebted to my father, who lived in Taos when the tale was current.

greatest consternation. The Penitentes later explained that this was doubtless the soul of a dead Penitente who had not done his duty in life, — a false Penitente, — and God had sent him back to earth to scourge himself properly, before allowing him to enter heaven.

I shall now give a brief list of a few popular superstitions about the dead, not already mentioned.

- I. They appear (i. e., ghosts) to good people only, never to the wicked.
- 2. If a person dies on a beautiful day, he has gone to heaven; if on a stormy day, he goes to hell.
- 3. A person who crosses a funeral procession will die within the year following.
- 4. If one is in continual dread of some one who has died, or one whose ghost has been seen, it is sufficient to say to him, "Go to h—," and one is troubled no more.
- 5. If two persons call for God's judgment on any dispute or quarrel, they die at the same time.
- 6. If one does not desire to be molested by the ghost of a dead person, it is sufficient to visit the dead body and touch its toes. There will be no apparitions and no fear whatever.
- 7. If the vice or custom of some dead person is commented upon, or even barely mentioned, it is necessary to offer up a prayer for him; otherwise he will come at night and pull the toes of those who ridicule him.
- 8. Ghosts speak to those to whom they appear.
- 9. Persons who see a ghost or spirit, forever lose their senses.
- 10. If a person dies and leaves money hidden, he returns to disclose the secret to one of his family.
- 11. If any one chews gum in bed, he is masticating the bones of the dead.
- 12. If a person spills salt, any quantity whatsoever, he has to come back after death to pick it all up with his eyelids.
- 13. To be strong and have no fear of the dead, it is necessary to pray to St. Gertrude.
- 14. God is not pleased to hear people speak of the dead. If the dead are laughed at, evil may follow.
- 15. When a candle is burning to the end, some one is dying.

2. SLEEP AND DREAMS (el sueño y los sueños)

Most of the superstitions concerning sleep are about children.

r. When children smile or laugh in their sleep, they see angels or are conversing with their guardian angel.

- 2. A sleeping child must not be caressed, because it causes him to die (his bile bursts).
- 3. If children fall asleep immediately after a violent fall or accident of any kind, they die.
- 4. If little girls play with their dolls in bed, or sleep with them, the Devil (el mashishi) appears to them in their sleep.
- 5. If children play with fire, they urinate while sleeping.
- 6. If one places the right hand over the heart of a person who is sleeping, the latter talks in his or her sleep and reveals all his or her secrets.

The superstitions and beliefs concerning dreams are many and various. Some dreams are interpreted literally, others not. Deaths, illness, or other misfortunes, are announced by dreams.

- 1. When one is desirous of having a dream, it is sufficient to place one's shoes or stockings near the pillow, and a dream is sure to come.
- 2. If a person dreams that a certain one has died, it means that a friend or relative is dying or will die, but not the one dreamed about.
- 3. If one dreams of blood, a terrible misfortune is about to happen.
- 4. If one dreams that one's teeth are falling, a relative has died.
- 5. If one dreams of lean meat, a child will soon die.
- 6. If one dreams of fat meat, an old person will soon die.
- 7. If one dreams of a funeral, a wedding will soon follow.
- 8. If one dreams of a wedding, death is announced.
- 9. If one dreams of wealth, poverty will come.
- 10. If one dreams of a black cat or black dog, an enemy is approaching.

3. EL OJO

El ojo is an illness, a serious fever, which people say is caused by excessive affection towards children. If a woman sees a child and caresses it much, she may, after looking at it, if the child also sees her, make it seriously ill, a violent fever following. This superstition is called hacer ojo 1 (to have a secret and mysterious influence by winking, illness following on the part of the child). No one is to blame for this mysterious influence, since it happens without the knowledge of any one. Death is sure to follow, if a remedy is not applied. The remedies are the following. The woman who has caused the harm (la que le hizo ojo al niño) takes the child in her arms; then, taking water in her mouth, she gives the child to drink with her mouth. The child is then put to sweat either in bed or under the woman's

¹ Hacer ojo may stand for hacer mal de ojo. The belief in the baneful influence of the evil glance is general among all peoples.

arm, and it soon recovers. A second remedy is to take the sweepings from the four corners of a room, boil them in water, and then take a little of this water in the mouth and spit it upon the child's face. There is a third remedy; but this is one that should be applied only in case the child has a violent fever, and when it is not certain whether or not it is *el ojo*. The child is well wrapped up and put to bed. An egg is emptied out on a plate and placed on a chair near the head of the bed where the child is sleeping. If the child has *el ojo*, an eye will soon appear formed on the egg, and the child will quickly recover.

When a friend visits, and a little child is present who is very pretty and attractive, the visitor, through fear of causing *el ojo*, pays no attention to the child, and says to it, "Quitate de aqui, Dios te guarde!" ("Go away, and may God help you!") Strings of coral are also placed about children's necks, so that they may be safe from *el ojo*.

4. SUPERSTITIOUS REMEDIES

These are called by the less superstitious supersticios or remedios supersticiosos. I shall not treat here of the curandera ("popular doctor"), or of the popular remedies of the New Mexicans which seem to be efficacious. I have much material on that field of New Mexican Spanish folk-lore, but that has little or nothing to do with superstition. Here we are concerned with the popular superstitious remedies, which are evidently based on mere ignorant superstition. The following is a brief list of some of them:—

- I. For tuberculosis. The milk of the she-ass or the flesh of the bitch.
- 2. For constipation in children. An egg is broken against their stomach.
- 3. For the toothache. Human excretion, or that of a hen.
- 4. For any female disease. Ashes and urine are mixed together with garlic, and this is applied to all parts of the body by making crosses with it.
- 5. For violent fever. The windows and doors are closed, and the patient is well wrapped.
- 6. For chapped hands. They are washed with the urine of a male child.
- 7. For wounds or cuts. They are carefully bandaged with rags of men's clothing.
- 8. To stop bleeding of the nose. A wet key or coin is pressed to the forehead.
- 9. For warts. One takes a small rag and makes a knot in it. Then one goes to a road-crossing and throws it away. The first person who happens to pass by will grow a wart, and the other one loses it.

- 10. For sunstroke. A glass of water is placed on the patient's head. When the water boils, the ailment is gone.
- 11. For hordeolum. The penis of a baby is rubbed against the eye.
- 12. To make hair grow. It is cut during full moon.
- For dog-bites. Burn the bite with hair taken from the dog's snout.
- 14. To cut the umbilical cord. An egg is buried in the wall on the 2d of February (the day of Our Lady of Candelaria).
- 15. For stench in the mouth. The patient must cross the river thrice before sunrise, and the gums are burned with three blue stones.
- 16. For hectic children. The children are wrapped up for a while with a cow's stomach.
- 17. For any pain in the eye. A warm raisin is put in the ear.
- 18. For pain in the bile. The patient should be dressed in a red calico garb.
- 19. For heart-trouble. The drinking of water mixed with ants or lice.
- 20. To facilitate the after-birth. The patient drinks water boiled with a man's old hat, or blows thrice into the hollow of her hand.
- 21. For colds. Water is warmed with three large blue stones, and the patient is bathed with it.
- 22. When horses have the colic, they are wrapped with the skirts of a woman who has just given birth to a male child.
- 23. For cramps. Human excretion.
- 24. For insanity. The insane are cured by swallowing the heart of a crow that has just been killed. The heart of the crow must be still warm.
- 25. For hiccough. The person affected should drink nine draughts of water without breathing.
- 26. For tonsilitis. The patient's fingers are pulled until they crack.

When children are sick, and a remedy is applied, whatever it may be, it is customary in some places to accompany the application of the remedy with the following rhymes:

(a) "Sana, sana, Culito de rana. Si no sanas hoy, Sanarás mañana."

¹ Rhyming charms such as these, though slightly different, are given also by Ramón A. Laval, *Revista de Folklore Chileno*, i, 160. No. 15 is only slightly different:—

"Sana, sana, potito e rana, si no sanais hoi, sanaris mañana." (b) "Sana, sana, Colita de rana. Si no sanas hoy, Sanarás mañana."

A more general formula used by all when any remedy is applied, whether a real remedy or otherwise, is the following:—

"Jesús y cruz Y su santísima cruz."

To the one who coughs people say, —

"Dios te ampare Y un perro te agarre."

5. CELESTIAL BODIES, THUNDERBOLTS, ETC.

THE MOON. — A large number of New Mexico superstitions centre around the moon. The moon plays a very important rôle in the folklore of all countries, especially with respect to superstitions and beliefs about birth, and the like. The author of this article has been surprised, however, to find that very few of the numerous superstitions about the moon, as found in France, exist in New Mexican folklore. Among so many, one would expect to find more similarities.¹ In New Mexico it is a widespread belief that the moon exercises a great influence on a child even before birth. A woman who is pregnant must never go out to see an eclipse of the moon, for the moon will eat up the nose or lips of her offspring. Whenever a child is born with such deformities, it is currently said, "Se lo comió la luna" ("the moon has eaten part of him"). A woman who is pregnant may avoid such a misfortune by going out to see an eclipse of the moon with a bunch of keys tied to her waist. In this way her offspring is perfectly safe from any of the evil influences of the moon. Other superstitions about the moon are the following: —

- 1. During crescent moon, child-birth is easy and painless; but during waning moon, the contrary is the case.
- 2. If women or girls cut their hair during crescent, it grows.2
- 3. The finger-nails should not be cut during crescent, because they, also, grow more.
- 4. If hens are set during crescent, they hatch better.
- 5. If a ring appears around the moon, the next day will be a tempestuous, ill-fated day.

I have not found in New Mexico any superstitions or beliefs about the man in the moon. In fact, the moon is referred to as a woman

¹ Paul Sebillot, Folk-Lore de France, vol. i (1904), pp. 37-60.

² This is also a French superstition (Paul Sebillot, op. cit., p. 44).

with only one eye (una vieja tuerta). When a person rises in bad humor, people say, "Se levantó con su luna;" and of one who is continually in bad humor they say, "Tiene su luna." On the other hand, the moon is a frequent topic in popular poetry, and its beauty and its high horns are often mentioned.

- (a) "Mano blanca de mi amada, Más hermosa que la luna, Quien de ti llegue á gozar Tentrá placer y fortuna."
- (b) "Ya la luna tiene cuernos
 Y el lucero la acompaña.
 ¡Ay, qué triste queda un hombre.
 Cuando una huera lo engaña!"

The Sun. — The sun is also an important factor in New Mexican superstition. The sun has also its mysterious influences on individuals. The head of the bed must never be placed towards the rising sun, since it will cause the sleeper to rise with a bad headache, and even insanity may result. The sun is also the tooth-giver. When a tooth falls or is extracted, the child takes the tooth, throws it at the sun with all possible force, and recites in sing-song fashion, —

"Sol, sol,
Toma este diente
Y dame otro mejor." ²

Other superstitions about the sun are the following: —

- 1. When it rains and the sun is shining, a she-wolf is bringing forth her offspring; or a liar is paying his debts.
- 2. When the sun sets on a cloudy day, the following day will be a tempestuous one.
- 3. It is believed that blondes cannot see the sun; and of one who is very fair, people say, "Es tan huero que no puede ver al sol."

THE STARS. — The stars figure much in comparisons in popular poetry. "As beautiful as a star," is the phrase most commonly used as a compliment to a beautiful girl. In current superstitions they do

¹ Compare the words lunático, lunatic, etc.

² In Chili the children do not throw the tooth at the sun, but to the rats (Laval, op. cit., p. 161):—

"Ratoncito toma este dientecito i dame otro más bonito."

In Spain the tooth is thrown towards the roof, and the roof is asked to return a better one (*Ibid.*):—

"Tejadito nuevo toma este diente viejo i tráeme otro nuevo." not play an important rôle, but a few superstitions are found which are exceedingly interesting:—

- 1. If one counts the stars, as many as one counts, so many wrinkles will appear on one's face.
- 2. When one sees a falling star, one must say, "Dios la guie!" ("May God guide it!") for it may fall to earth and cause ruin and destruction.

Falling stars and comets are much feared by the people, though they do not have very definite ideas as to the consequences of the appearances of these celestial bodies, other than the belief that wars and famine will come. This is expressed in a proverb, which seems to be very old: "Señas en el cielo — guerras en el suelo" ("signs in the heavens, wars on earth").

Thunderbolts and Lightning, Clouds, etc. — The New Mexicans have no definite ideas about these phenomena. Their fear of thunderbolts and lightning is based on experience, and this cannot be classed as superstition. To protect themselves against thunderbolts and lightning, the people usually resort to prayer; and invocations to Sta. Barbara are the rule, as in Chili, France, Spain. The more common New Mexican invocations which are recited on the approach of a storm, for protection against thunderbolts and lightning, are:

- (a) "Santa Barbara doncea,² Líbranos de la centea." ²
- (b) "Santa Barbara doncea, Líbranos del rayo y de la centea."

No doubt, the people recite other more complete formulas similar to those found by Laval in Chili, but I have only the above in my collectanea. Evidently all these invocations to Santa Barbara are traditional and very old.

In New Mexico there is also a superstition that thunderbolts and lightning never harm an innocent child; and in times of storm some people take a child in their arms for protection.

To ask for rain and to appease the storm or the rain, the two following invocations are used:—

- (a) "San Lorenzo, barbas di oro Ruega á Dios que llueva (á) chorros"
- (b) "San Isidro labrador, Ruega á Dios que salg'el sol."

¹ Sebillot, op. cit., pp. 105-108; Laval, op. cit., pp. 154, 155.

² Doncea < doncella, centea < centella see the author's Studies in New Mexican Spanish, i, § 158 (2).

These are exactly the same as those given by Laval for Chili.1

To dissipate the clouds, people throw salt at them and make crosses with the hand. A less common superstition is to take the lid or cover of some pot, cover it with ashes, draw a cross on the ashes with one's fingers, and then place it outside of the house.

It is a common belief among the ignorant classes that the clouds descend to the ocean or to large lakes for rain. Water-lizards and the like, which appear after heavy rains, are said to come from the clouds, having been picked up by them from the sea or lakes.

The waters of lakes and rivers are said to sting (pican) during the month of May; and those who bathe therein always say before entering into the water, to cure it, "Jesús y cruz," — a formula similar to the one used in applying any remedy, as already stated.

The sun, the stars, the moon, the winds, are personified in many popular folk-tales, with which we are not concerned here. The language and style of these show that these stories are very old, and probably brought from Spain in the early days of American colonization. In most of them the sun and moon are represented as terrible and all-powerful beings, which cause destruction and often feed on human flesh.²

6. MISCELLANEOUS SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Under this heading I shall include a list of various superstitions and beliefs not included in the above divisions, and which are not of sufficient importance, or numerous enough, to give in their several classifications. It is interesting to note here, as in our other classifications, how numerous are the superstitions and popular beliefs which are concerned with children.

- I. The child who is born after twins will be a fortune-teller.
- 2. Children who smoke grow beards.
- 3. To make babies talk, let them smoke cigarettes.
- 4. To make babies talk, lick their mouth after having received holy communion.
- 5. If babies have their finger-nails cut, it shortens their lives, or their eyesight is impaired.
- 6. If a new-born child sees itself in a mirror, death will come.
- 7. If children are tickled on the feet, they become mute.
- 8. If a child weeps or laughs too much, his bile bursts and he dies.

¹ Op. cit., p. 155.

² In one of these a traveller is taken by the winds to the home of the Moon. The daughters of the Moon (*las lunitas*) conceal him while *la luna vieja* (the Mother-Moon) is away. When the Mother-Moon arrives, she smells human flesh, and threatens to devour one of her daughters unless the traveller be delivered to her. The Moon's words are in rhyme:—

[&]quot;Á carne humana me huele aquí, Si no me la das, comerte (he) á tí."

- 9. If any one is eating and a child appears, it must be given to eat, lest its bile burst.
- 10. When children stumble or fall, it means that they were not blessed on rising.
- 11. On the eve of St. John's Day the white of an egg is placed in a glass of water, and the next morning what is to happen in the future appears written on the egg.
- 12. On St. John's Day women cut the tip of their hair with an axe, or simply wash it, so that it may grow.
- 13. To find out if any given person is thinking of one, an egg-shell is placed over the fire. If the skin of the inside of the shell rises, the person is thinking of the one who performs the experiment (Colorado).
- 14. The same experiment proves whether the husband or lover is faithful (Santa Fé).
- 15. If the cat washes its face, some one will soon arrive from the direction towards which the cat is looking.
- 16. If a needle is lost, people say, "The Devil has pricked himself with it," or "May the Devil prick himself with it!" and the needle will then be found.
- 17. If one drops the salt at the table, a dispute will soon occur in the family.
- 18. If a fork is dropped at the table, a violent dispute will soon occur between husband and wife.
- 19. If the sugar is spilled, a surprise will happen.
- 20. If four persons meet and cross hands, one of them will be married within a year.
- 21. If two persons clean their hands at the same time with the same towel, they will soon quarrel.
- 22. If the bread-crumbs are burned up, the house will never catch fire.
- 23. If one eats beans on New Year's Day, prosperity will follow.
- 24. If a mirror is broken or a cat is killed, there will follow seven years of bad luck.
- 25. If a girl's skirts fall, her lover has repented.
- 26. If a pin sticks straight out on a woman's clothing, her husband will leave her or she will soon receive a letter.
- 27. When a spider appears, it brings good luck.
- 28. So that St. Anthony will perform miracles, his image is hung head down.
- 29. When the image of a saint falls to the ground, it means that he has performed a miracle.
- 30. When there is a ringing in the ears, a letter will soon be received, or on the 20th of the month.
- 30*. When there is a ringing in the ears, people fear death, and cross themselves, saying, "Anda la muerte cerca."

- 31. On leaving the house on New Year's Day, a young person observes the person first encountered, for of a similar character the young person will be.
- 32. In the spinach a hair is always found, because two godfathers once had a fight in a spinach-patch.
- 33. If a young woman cuts her finger-nails on Saturday, she will see her lover on Sunday.
- 34. It is bad luck, and decidedly improper, to wash one's face or cut one's finger-nails on Fridays.
- 35. Young girls must not eat sardines, for they cause fickleness or even libidinousness (Santa Fé).
- 36. It is believed that niggardly women have very painful parturition; and at such times, children are given candy and cake in abundance.
- 37. To protect a setting hen from lightning, nails are placed under the nest in the straw.
- 38. A cat is said to have seven lives.
- 39. The swallow must not be killed or even molested, since it was a swallow that pulled off the thorns from the crown of Christ.
- 40. When one yawns, the Devil will enter into the mouth if one does not make the sign of the cross.
- 41. If a person looks at himself in a mirror at night, he sees the Devil.
- 42. Girls who do not sweep well have not made a good confession.
- 43. A black cat means bad luck if seen at night.
- 44. It is not well for children to play with fire-arms, for the Devil gets inside of them.
- 45. After midnight the Devil is going around loose.
- 46. It is not well for people to be alone at night.

The story is told, that there was once a woman who loved to remain alone in her house. One evening, to her great astonishment, a small hand appeared in her room, and, approaching her, struck her on the back several times, telling her, "I do this, because you are always alone" ("por solita, por solita").

- 47. If a young man or young woman is hit with the broom on the feet by one who is sweeping, he or she will never be married.
- 48. If one has an itching in the right hand, a stranger is about to be introduced.
- 49. If two persons drink water from the same glass, the last will know the first one's secrets.
- 50. The white spots in the finger-nails indicate the number of lies the person has told.
- 51. In order to find anything which is lost, it is only necessary to offer a burning candle and three "Our Fathers" to St. Acacio.

- 52. To make St. Cayetano perform a miracle, people make a wager with him that he can't do the thing desired. The saint always wins.
- 53. The Virgin of el Carmen comes down to purgatory every Saturday for the souls of the blessed ones who pray to her.
- 54. Women who are devout servants of Santa Rita will become widows.
- 55. If a hair is thrown into a bottle filled with water, it grows and becomes a snake.
- 56. If gray hair is pulled out, more comes out.
- 57. If any one eats in the presence of a woman who is pregnant, the latter must be given to eat, lest she miscarry.
- 58. If the bastings are seen on a person's clothing, it means that the clothing has not been paid for.
- 59. When a person forgets what he is going to say, it means that it was a lie.
- 60. If a pregnant woman does not obtain all she desires, her offspring may have a picture of the desired thing on some part of its body.
- 61. If children play with a rosary, the rosary is changed into a snake.
- 62. A wounded man must never go near a woman who is menstruating, for his wounds will never heal.
- 63. When a person has sore eyes, a scapular is put on him having two eyes drawn on it, which are said to be the eyes of St. Lucia.
- 64. When people bathe, they first wet the top of the head, to avoid a violent fever.
- 65. During holy week some of the ignorant women of New Mexico do not wash their faces or cut their finger-nails; for, if they do, they wash Christ's face and cut his finger-nails.
- 66. When a saint who is invoked will not perform a miracle, his image is put away (imprisoned) until he performs the miracle.
- 67. On St. Anthony's Day and also on St. Joseph's Day, one must always give strangers to eat, since such strangers may be the saints themselves.
- 68. Those who have the toothache pray to St. Polonia.1

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¹ In Chili the same superstition is found (Laval, op. cit., p. 149).